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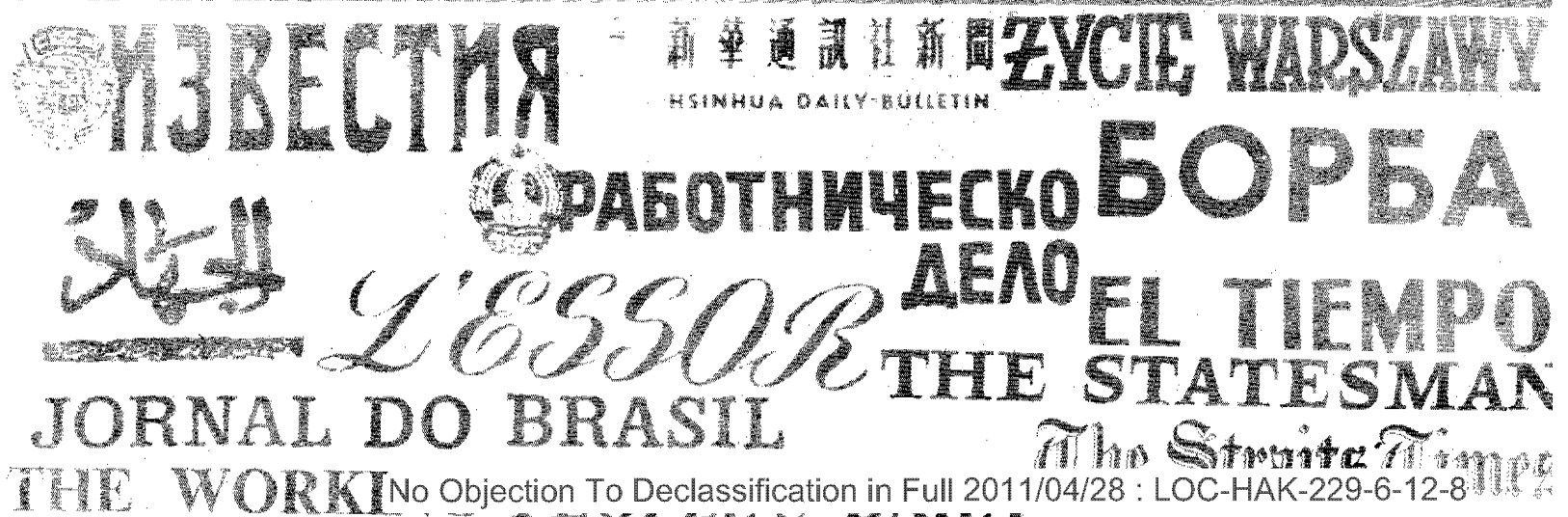
After The Summit:

Nixon, Kissinger Statements

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AFTER THE SUMMIT: NIXON AND KISSINGER STATEMENTS

Summary

Media in foreign news centers gave generally positive treatment to the ending of the Moscow summit, President Nixon's homecoming speech in Maine and Secretary Kissinger's briefings of European allies.

Of the summit, most observers considered that while its results were modest, it had succeeded in making Soviet-U.S. meetings routine.

The Frankfurter Allgemeine said "the solemn signing of the agreements, protocols and the final communique have afforded Nixon and Brezhnev an opportunity to continue the process of summit meetings and consultations.".... The image of a global peace structure as envisaged by Kissinger cannot be translated into reality for the time being, but one must continue working for it since it makes sense..."

Of Mr. Nixon's homecoming speech, the Times of London said he showed "not the slightest sign of strain" and that he offered "reassurance to Americans and his NATO allies."

Mr. Kissinger's travels to European capitals to brief the allies on the summit outcome received general approval, although the London Financial Times reported from Brussels that his assurances... that the U.S. has not given anything away in Moscow seem to have succeeded in smoothing ruffled European feathers, but the underlying differences remain and will now have to be thrashed out."

Moscow TASS cited a Pravda report yesterday that "a prominent American analyst expresses satisfaction with the fact that a number of agreements achieved at the talks serve as a new strong impetus to improve further relations between the USSR and the U.S." In its Wednesday English service the news agency carried a commentary by Igor Orlov on the CSCE to the effect that both sides agreed "that the successful conclusion of the conference will become an outstanding event in the establishment of a durable peace" and they urged that "final stage of the conference be held at the soonest possible time..."

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West German News Play

West German papers headlined the end of the Moscow summit, President Nixon's Wednesday night speech in Maine, and Secretary Kissinger's statements in Brussels.

Newspaper comment was generally skeptical but TV observers were more positive.

Headlines included "Nixon Displays Optimism; Agreements With Moscow Have Strengthened Hope for Peace, President Says" (Frankfurter Rundschau), "Detente Not at Allied Expense, Nixon Says" (Stuttgarter Zeitung), and European Misgivings Not Eliminated in Brussels" (Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger of Cologne).

"Nixon Stressed Alliance Role"

Of the President's speech, right-center Die Welt of Hamburg reported that he "placed great emphasis on the central role of the Atlantic Alliance in U.S. foreign policy. The President was clearly anxious to dispel European mistrust of the summit results."

Independent Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich said that in addition to stressing peace, "Nixon emphasized the need for military strength and cohesion within the Atlantic Alliance. A possible reason is that his negotiations with Brezhnev failed to produce the expected breakthrough to a durable SALT II agreement."

"Kissinger Impressed NATO With Candor"

Of Mr. Kissinger's remarks at Brussels, right-center Frankfurter Allgemeine noted that "NATO diplomats said Kissinger's statements were very exhaustive and on a high, almost scientific plane. According to them, what he said sounded more optimistic than did many commentaries on the Moscow communique. There was mutual readiness to continue tackling existing problems and hope for rapprochement, the diplomats said.

"All present were much impressed by the candor of the U.S. and its readiness to consult. The European partners also referred to a remarkable improvement in U.S.-European relations..."

"Opportunity to Continue the Process"

Frankfurter Allgemeine, cited above, said yesterday that "the solemn signing of the agreements, protocols and the final communique have afforded Nixon and Brezhnev an opportunity to continue the process of summit meetings and consultation...

"It is now as before the declared will of the Soviets to make use of their vast arsenals of continuously improved strategic and conventional weapons systems as a means to exert mounting political pressure...

"The image of a global peace structure as envisaged by Kissinger cannot be translated into reality for the time being, but one must continue working for it since it makes sense..."

"Did Soviets Disclose Secrets?"

Today the paper's military writer, Adelbert Weinstein, remarked that "Brezhnev and Nixon reportedly showed their strategic hands with brutal candor." He commented:

"We presume that the Americans were honest. They consider information on their own strength an element of their strategy of deterrence.... Moreover, in an open society secrets do not remain secrets forever..."

"The situation is different where the Soviets are concerned. In harmony with their mentality we may presume that they did not disclose their real secrets. At best they will have submitted figures we can also find in The New York Times..."

"Kissinger Strengthens Declaration"

In another article today, Weinstein declared that "by informing the allies in detail of the spirit and content of the Moscow talks, Kissinger strengthens the spirit and content of the Ottawa declaration..."

"For too long has mistrust prevailed in Europe's relations with the U.S. Hence Kissinger's interpretation of cooperation between the nuclear powers is important for joint Atlantic security policy..."

"Arms Race Continues"

Die Welt of Hamburg, cited above, said yesterday that "the arms race with MIRVs continues unabated. No agreement was achieved on this key point. The U.S. and the Soviet Union merely declared their intent to achieve a MIRV settlement by 1975. Nixon and Brezhnev only signed agreements of secondary importance."

In the same issue, byliner Dieter Cycon asserted that "the real significance of the Moscow decisions is that both world powers have extended the time limit within which they want to achieve limitation of their offensive rocket systems. In this connection the suspension of major underground nuclear tests and the further limitation of defensive rockets are no more than gestures of good will..."

"Moreover, none of this is proof that the West Europeans will find themselves in a position to divide the Old World into a Soviet and an American sphere of influence.... Today's deep gulf can be only temporary, not the goal..."

"The Danger of Small Steps"

Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich, also quoted above, today carried a byliner's assertion that "beyond all niceties which extend into the domestic politics of the superpowers, the results of the arms limitation talks as set forth by Nixon and Brezhnev prompt the simple question of what sense they make for the solemnly proclaimed disarmament policy, particularly since these results considerably differ in respect to nature and binding force..."

"Can this combination of smallest steps further the cause of world peace? Nixon claims it can..."

"But political practice in recent years has demonstrated that a small step on arms limitation becomes a farce if the arms race continues at a brisk pace. In the light of this realization the results of Moscow are disappointing.... The Moscow declarations do not solve the real problems, particularly the question of how to limit offensive potentials, and try to camouflage this failure by big words and nebulous projects..."

"Nixon Has Not Forgotten Europe"

Yesterday the paper carried a byliner's view that "fears that President Nixon would, because of his involvement in the Watergate affair, be unable to act as a negotiating partner on equal terms with Brezhnev have turned out...to be groundless..."

The writer said the Soviet Union "has taken Watergate into account, correcting some of Mr. Nixon's language about "special personal relations," so that in the Soviet version the personal relations "would not appear to be the reason for the agreement, but only the circumstance that touched things off.

"Unless we are deceived, it looks from here as if Nixon has resisted the attempt to use the neutral glow of a visit to Moscow to focus a light on a campaign for an early summit conference on European security. Thus the Europeans' demands seem to be still in his attache case and not forgotten."

TV: "Nixon Not Empty-handed"

West German television comment was generally affirmative.

A first network correspondent said last night that "President Nixon has had no spectacular success in Moscow but he has not returned to Washington empty-handed. In particular, the agreement on a partial ban on underground nuclear tests as well as the renunciation of further improvement of defensive strategic arms should not be degraded as routine. And we should not underestimate the importance of the continuity of U.S.-Soviet nuclear diplomacy..."

"The Framework Has Been Built"

Washington correspondent Wolf von Lojewski reported from Moscow on first-network television that "the result is a little less than one originally expected but the framework has been built for a much more permanent agreement on nuclear arms systems, something that could last till 1985."

Paris TV: "Smiles More Important Than Agreement"

French media said the superpowers had moved a step forward with great caution.

State-run television spoke of a "semi-failure" but stressed that "in the end, form was more important than substance, the smiles more significant than the content of the agreement.... The lack of an agreement on detente shows that military authorities in both countries do not wish to lower their guard as fast as Nixon and Brezhnev."

"Kissinger Reassures Europeans"

Both TV networks carried Mr. Kissinger's arrival in Paris and excerpts of his airport statement.

The first network noted that "he is reassuring the Europeans. Some NATO countries feared that an East-West arrangement between Nixon and Brezhnev had been made at their expense."

"Another Step Toward Detente"

Moderately conservative Figaro of Paris yesterday ran the assertion of byliner Roger Massip that "the third American-Soviet summit has not lived up to the promise of the two previous ones. And that is certainly why President Nixon... underscored, on the eve of his departure from Moscow, that the objectives cannot be reached 'in one, two, or even three meetings.' The communique cannot conceal the modesty of the results." He concluded:

"Realism governed the two statesmen's decisions. And it is also realism which brought them to decide on the principle of regular meetings between representatives of the two countries. Thus another date has been made for next year.

"The third meeting has solved nothing, but it is another step on the road to detente. A process of permanent contacts between the big two is engaged, and it would take a great deal of bad faith not to admit that at the same time the chances if not of detente, at least of something which looks very much like it called peaceful coexistence, are insured and preserved."

Rome TV: "The Dialogue Is Irreversible"

A Moscow correspondent for state-controlled Italian TV and radio said on both networks yesterday that some would regard the summit as a success, others as a failure "because the evaluation of the trip, at least by the American press, will be influenced by the domestic debate about the President.

"Nixon and Brezhnev were unable to stop the rush to missiles, but this was foreseen... The agreements are a clear indication that after the turning point of two years ago, the dialogue between the two powers is becoming 'irreversible.'... The detente of which Soviets and Americans speak means--above all--new economic openings, a more intense bilateral consultation on world affairs and a better-balanced strategic equilibrium."

On a related subject the correspondent declared: "Nixon will have to face the opposition of those governments which do not want to call for the CSCE until there are some results in the field of human contacts..."

"Confirmed Spirit of Detente"

A Moscow correspondent for independent Il Messaggero of Rome wrote yesterday under the title, "Summit Without Surprises," that it had "not produced sensational results but these were not expected." He found that there were now "indications, guidelines, impulses, final touches...to confirm above all the spirit of detente and the spirit of irreversibility of peace..."

London Headlines

British papers yesterday and today had mixed reactions to the end of the summit. They reported President Nixon's speech on arrival in this country and Secretary Kissinger's report to Brussels.

These were headlines today:

"HOMECOMING PRESIDENT NIXON OFFERS REASSURANCE
TO AMERICANS AND HIS NATO ALLIES"

(Times of London)

"PERMANENT PEACE AHEAD, NIXON TELLS AMERICANS"

(Daily Telegraph)

"KISSINGER SOOTHES EUROPEANS"

(Financial Times)

Yesterday's headlines included "Mr. Nixon Wins Concessions on Missiles and Tests But Arms Race Will Go On" (Times), "Watergate Leaves Its Mark in Moscow" (Guardian), "Arms Experts to Have Another Go at MIRV Pact" (Daily Telegraph) and "U.S. and Russia to Work for Ten-Year Arms Curb" (Financial Times).

"Kissinger Had to Backtrack on CSCE"

A correspondent in Brussels for the independent Financial Times reported today that "Dr. Kissinger...had to backtrack heavily...on language (about CSCE) used in the communique....in order to avoid a new rift between Europe and the U.S....

"Dr. Kissinger's assurances...that the U.S. has not given anything away in Moscow seems to have succeeded in smoothing ruffled European feathers, but the underlying differences remain and will now have to be thrashed out."

The liberal Guardian reported today from Brussels, "The outcome of President Nixon's talks in Moscow has deepened suspicions shared by the European allies that the two superpowers are intent on concluding the European security conference with a spectacular televised summit as soon as possible--in spite of the lack of progress on the key issue of "free movement of people and ideas. This emerged clearly after Dr. Kissinger briefed the NATO Council here..."

"Nixon Showed No Sign of Strain"

Of Mr. Nixon's homecoming speech, Washington correspondent Fred Emery of the independent Times reported that "on balance, his appearance, showing not the slightest sign of strain after his talks and the long flight, must have helped him a bit in his fight against impeachment..."

"There is little complaint in Washington today about Mr. Nixon's summit performance. Those at the Pentagon and in Congress who were worried that he might follow Dr. Kissinger and rush into a strategic arms limitation agreement that all might regret have expressed private relief.

"More agreeably, Mr. Nixon's achievement is to have made summit meetings routine and defused, so that no one's expectations are extravagantly aroused and then let down. There is no disappointment... because nobody really believed the buildup that was offered. Instead, there is general satisfaction that relations with Russia are unruffled."

"Stationing of Foreign Observers a Gain"

In an editorial yesterday, however, the papers judged that "the results of the Russian weekend are something of a disappointment..."

"The verbal agreement talks of stationing observers from either side to monitor the tests of either superpower, and is the first sign that the Soviet Union will allow foreign observers on Russian soil. It is so far a rather limited concession, and we have yet to see it implemented. But it is an important principle..."

The liberal Guardian said yesterday that "President Nixon's parley at the summit with Mr. Brezhnev will make the world a less unsafe place than it would otherwise have been in the late 1970s and early 1980s..."

Brussels: "Too Soon to Speak of Failure"

Catholic conservative La Libre Belgique of Brussels said "it would probably be somewhat too easy to speak of the failure of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit... In diplomacy things are usually much more delicately shaded... The main elements of the texts... were already agreed upon before the opening of the summit and they cannot conceal the failure of efforts of both statesmen to step up control of their offensive nuclear arms..."

Catholic labor La Cite of Brussels wrote yesterday that "Mr. Nixon will perhaps not be too dissatisfied" because of the halt in SALT II negotiations... Mr. Nixon... will now be able to say he yielded nothing to Mr. Brezhnev and that he preferred slowing down detente to acceptance of an agreement that might have endangered U.S. security..."

Helsinki: "Reduces the Risks"

Independent Helsingin Sanomat judged today that compared to Mr. Nixon's and Mr. Brezhnev's former summit meetings, "their third encounter was somewhat routine." The paper added, "It even seemed that the interest of the mass media was mainly focused on President Nixon's motives, or his effort to find some 'Watergate medication' in the field of foreign policy."

It noted, "Yet the significance of summits like this should not be underestimated, either. They provide great-power leaders with an opportunity to get to know each other better and thus reduce the possibility of fateful miscalculations."

Tokyo: "On-spot Inspection Just a Promise?"

Japanese media said the Nixon-Brezhnev meetings were useful but not very productive.

Publicly financed NHK television noted today that "the Soviet Union promised to allow the U.S. to conduct on-the-spot inspection of underground tests." The network added, however, "It could be just an oral promise because this point was not included in the communique." An NHK commentator expressed doubts about the summit talks making progress toward peace. He maintained that "there were no signs of a relaxation of the mood of tension at the third summit talks in comparison to the two earlier Nixon-Brezhnev meetings."

"Institutionalized the Structure"

Leading liberal Asahi stated today that the outstanding feature of the talks "was the institutionalizing of the meetings by strengthening the 'U.S.-Soviet cooperation structure' under the dark shadow cast by the Watergate affair."

The paper said, "There is a deepening European distrust toward the U.S.-Soviet cooperation structure because the two countries failed to work out a concrete arrangement on the European conference on security and cooperation in which the Soviets strongly desired a speedy conclusion." It also observed that China is taking "a very cautious attitude toward U.S.-Soviet cooperation."

"A Superpower Club?"

Moderate Yomiuri today contended, "It is not proper to underestimate the significance of the desire of the U.S. and Soviet leaders to reconfirm continuation of cooperation between the two countries."

The paper maintained that while detente should be welcomed, "if the regular U.S.-Soviet summit talks are limited to 'a superpower club' this will not be a desirable situation for third parties."

"Clarified Cooperation"

Moderate Tokyo Shimbun cited two major failures of the summit talks--"to answer the world's demand for nuclear disarmament" and "to produce an agreement on such economic problems as the most favored nation status and large financial aid." However, the paper said, the summit talks "have clarified the extent of cooperation to be continued between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."

Kuala Lumpur: "How to Convince the Military?"

The conservative Straits Times of Kuala Lumpur posed this question today:

"The core of the problem of nuclear disarmament and comprehensive agreement...is how to convince military establishments of the idiocy of unrestrained struggle to achieve strategical superiority. No one is superior if each has the power of total destruction. Has the Moscow summit helped to drive this home?"

Melbourne: "Newly Equates the Terror"

Australian newspaper comment today welcomed the modest gains of the summit while stressing the dangers of a breakdown of detente.

The mass-circulation Melbourne Herald said the summit agreement "newly equates the terror in which each nation must hold the other." It warned that "if the two nations fail to limit the arms race...we are threatened with an 'explosion' in the quality and quantity of nuclear arms that already exist in stocks to kill the world over and over again."

The independent Canberra Times said today, "The only real comfort...is that they have agreed to go on talking about disarmament and economic cooperation."

The paper said the positive achievements of negotiations of the past 12 months were "virtually meaningless in comparison with the much more important matters about which the parties declare themselves unable to agree and with the horrendous implications of that failure."

The Australian of Canberra judged today that the real meaning of the summit lay "somewhere between the optimistic view that both took of it and the frank pessimism of...Mr. Kissinger." The paper added, "The clout which the military establishments carry in each country will continue to bedevil progress towards detente."

Calcutta: "A Further Lease on Life"

Independent Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta wrote today, "It cannot be said that the third summit has not attained any concrete results. It has given a further lease on life to the spirit of detente which is as much in the interest of the U.S. as that of the Soviet Union."

Calcutta's moderate Hindusthan Standard declared, "Unsurprisingly the Moscow summit was not a spectacular success. It was not a dismal failure either. Both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev have a stake in peace, the cause of which would have suffered a setback had it been revealed in Moscow that fundamental differences on basic issues separated the Big Two."

The paper judged that "the two superpowers...are not prepared to abandon the nuclear path and return to the good old days of conventional arms. The spirit of '70 did not die in 1974 but did not take a leap forward to '76."

Tel Aviv: Concern About Palestine Reference

Jerusalem Radio yesterday cited semiofficial Davar as stating that the third summit meeting ended as expected without dramatic progress. The paper expressed concern about the reference in the joint communique to the support of the Palestinian issue.

Another Jerusalem Radio report said National Religious Party's Hatsofeh of Tel Aviv "believes the Palestine clause in the joint communique must serve as a red light regarding the trends being manifested in superpower policy."

The radio said the paper "fears that President Nixon failed to reach substantial achievements in his tour, and this may have pushed him to meet the Russians halfway over issues in our region."

Cairo: "A Step Forward on Palestine"

Cairo Radio today cited mass-circulation al-Akhbar as saying that "the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in the statement of the two superpowers represents a step forward conforming to the rising trend in the world which considers the Palestinian question as the core of the Middle East problem, and a just solution to this problem as the starting point for peace in the area."

Moscow Cites U.S. Correspondents

Moscow TASS said yesterday that Pravda had reported "from the Moscow Press Center" that "prominent analysts" had stated views on "constructive results of the Soviet-American talks." The news agency noted:

"The newspaper writes that prominent American analysts express satisfaction with the fact that a number of agreements achieved at the talks serve as a new strong impetus to improve further relations between the USSR and the U.S."

TASS said "all the central newspapers" of the Soviet press had carried the final communique.

"Pessimistic Forecasts Were Unfounded"

It quoted Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya as saying "the results of the third Soviet-American summit meeting just as those of its two predecessors, can be qualified as constructive and weighty." It cited these among emphases in the newspaper's story:

"Some people, citing NATO specialists, regarded it as 'unlikely' that the problem of further limitation of strategic armaments would be even discussed in Moscow, the newspaper remarks....

"The other agreements signed in Moscow are conclusive evidence of a further fast advance in the relations between the USSR and the U.S., the newspaper says...

"It is an open secret that there were people, both in the U.S. and in Western Europe, who asserted that President Richard Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union, in the current conditions of serious aggravation of the inner political situation in the U.S., would not produce big results," the newspaper says. "Bluntly speaking, these pessimistic forecasts turned out to be unfounded."

"Major Attention to CSCE"

TASS English service on Wednesday carried a commentary by Igor Orlov saying "the sides paid major attention to the conference on European security and cooperation... The Soviet Union and the U.S., in cooperation with other countries, decided to apply all efforts to find acceptable solutions for all questions on the conference. They expressed conviction that the successful conclusion of the conference will become an outstanding event in the establishment of a durable peace. Precisely therefore they declared for the final stage of the conference to be held at the soonest possible time..."